/iii cont'd/

book, Hainan Tao Li-jen Tiao-ch'a Pao-kao. If the reader is not bored by details, it would be better for him to refer to these two books at the same time. This is my humble hope.

If this book has made any academic or social contribution, the credit should not go to the author alone; it belongs to all the members of our commission (a list of the members of our commission is printed in the Appendix, "Journal of the Investigation"). I, myself, must express my gratification and, even more, my thanks to those others who have allowed me to write out what was the collective work of all of us. /iv/ The one to whom I am especially obliged, however, is Mr. Ho Yüan-chiung. In that uncivilized region infested with malaria, where other people usually fear to go, we lived close together for a long time. We "comforted each other for the same kind of sickness" (actual physical sickness) and were of assistance to each other. To assuage our loneliness, we sometimes talked far into the night with our beds set next to each other. This experience will leave an indelible impression upon me for the rest of my life.

I have always been of the opinion that ethnology is not only a branch of pure science but also a practical study. We ethnologists should present the results of our studies not only to the academic world but also to our people and our country. In other words, we hope to offer some contributions toward the solution of our frontier problems. The last chapter of this was written for this purpose. Everything discussed therein concerns the most practical problems which are very important for the future development of Hainan Island. I should feel greatly honored if my writing could draw the attention of our government and the public to working out a proper solution.

Wang Hsing-jui
Graduate School
National Sun Yat-sen University

July 22, 1938

/136 cont'd/

361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Li, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village
● 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

005 We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front,
262 574 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival, ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica,
[297] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but
005 their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/138 cont'd/

Third month, fourth day. (Thursday)

164 Yüan-chiung had to get up over ten times last night because of dysentery. He cannot eat and feels so weak and depressed that it worries me. For the past two or three days my throat has been unusually parched, and today when I talk sometimes I can't make a sound. We suspect that our ailments have been caused by the impure drinking water. As the Miao live high in the mountains with
312 no streams and rivers around, all the drinking water has to be gathered from bamboo pipes in which water drop by drop is led down from the mountain tops and therefore is very dirty. We feel this is no proper place for us to stay any longer and have decided to return to Ta-ch'i immediately. But the rain has kept us from starting our
000 trip. I have spent the day in copying a number of Miao songs and legends and trying to learn the style of singing Miao songs. That the outcome of not going today was to be able to gather this unexpected material made me very happy.

527 At night the villagers gathered and contributed money and rice to have a banquet, and this was the end of the chung jen chai.

Third month, fifth day. (Friday)

000 At three o'clock in the morning I was awakened from my dreams by Yüan-chiung. He said that his dysentery was not over, and he could not hang on in this place any longer and wished to leave Ang-chi for Pao-t'ing in the morning. After some deliberation, we decided to leave here to return to Ta-ch'i first, and there we would decide whether or not to go to Pao-t'ing, depending on his condition. As our plans would be considerably affected once we left Pao-t'ing, we had to think it over rather carefully.

484 Around ten o'clock in the morning, we started to leave Ang-
[193] chi to return to Ta-ch'i, braving a heavy rain. The Miao prepared
[134] a sedan chair for Yüan-chiung, and I followed closely on foot. Because of the all-day rain mountain leeches were everywhere. How many times they climbed up my legs and filled their stomachs with my blood before I discovered them!

/139/

000 At Ta-ch'i we opened our box of medicines at Mr. Wang's house, but could not find any drug for dysentery. Mr. Wang's workmen 278 told us about a herb, used frequently by the Miao and said to be a kind of miracle drug to cure dysentery for the Miao. I suggested to Yüan-chiung that he should try it, as it might not do him any harm. He instantly resisted the idea and said he preferred death to taking the Miao drug. As we were put in such a predicament, with no medical facilities of any kind around this place, a thought suddenly struck me. As a child I had seen countrymen in my native place mix honey with tea to cure dysentery. Mr. Wang happened to have honey in his house, and we had brought along several kinds of tea with us. I mixed some and let Yüan-chiung drink it. Its effect is yet to be seen.

000 When we were at Ang-chi, though it was a filthy place, I was able to amuse myself by talking with the Miao. Back at Mr. Wang's house, it was like living in a castle; the place was much more comfortable, but I felt overcome with loneliness.

Third month, sixth day. (Saturday)

Originally I had thought that we should start for Pao-t'ing today, if Yüan-chiung was not any better. But after taking the drink of 278 honey in tea that I gave him yesterday, he has felt an immediate ● 164 effect. His dysentery has become much less frequent, and his spirits are much higher. As a complete cure seems in sight, we are glad to be able to cancel our previous plans.

After breakfast at ten o'clock, we set out for Wen-hua trading center, intending to take a closer look at the trading conditions of 226 the Miao and Li. At Wen-hua ten or more boys were making fish bombs, which they threw into the river to explode among the fish. We bought some 20 firecrackers for ourselves and asked the children to make a fish bomb for us. With it we caught about half a catty of fish, and we brought them back for supper.

243 The Li in the neighborhood were busy sowing and planting rice, and during the day we walked about the fields and talked with them.

/30 cont./

131 line of demarcation between the two natural regions. So today
648 the actual area of the Miao is northwest of the boundary wall,
limited to the La-erh plateau. Although the Miao area is not
[161] a barren wilderness, the area is small and densely populated,
[167] with a high birth rate leading to population pressure, which has led the Miao to invade the southeastern region. Therefore, whenever there is a Miao rebellion, the whole area /Illus. 7 on p. 31/ /32/ is occupied by them. The territorial limits designated by Yen Ju-yü as the Miao area is not entirely without reason. The Miao regard this area as their native land, and they seldom exceed its limits even in time of strife.

132 Climate.— Due to the lack of meteorological records the
[114] climate in the Miao area cannot be accurately described. The authors kept such records along the way during their travels, but they are the data of only a short period and do not represent the climatic conditions of the whole area. We observed that due to the difference in altitude the temperatures of two points within a short distance could be quite different. For instance, according to our record the temperature at Ya-pao-chai on June 10, 1933 at 1:00 P.M. registered 24.5° centigrade, but at So-li, Kan-ch'eng it registered 27° centigrade on June 13 at 1:00 P.M. Ya-pao-chai is situated on the plateau, 850
[361] kung ch'ih above sea level, and therefore is cooler, whereas So-li in the region of downstream river valleys, only 270 kung ch'ih above sea level, is hotter and damper. Formerly,
[164] before the opening of the Miao area, it was a malaria region. On the plateau young rice plants for transplanting have grown only to a height of about one ch'ih by mid-June, whereas in the low river valleys it has already grown to two ch'ih, apparently on account of the different climates. Regarding the climate in the four seasons, the Miao Fang-pei Lan in the "Feng-su K'ao /Study of Customs/" section has this to say: "The climate of the four seasons within the Miao area is different from China Proper. Thick fog frequently enshrouds the place, clearing slightly at noon. When the fog is thick, men and animals cannot see each other even face to face, and it is difficult to move

161 moved to some place in Ting-fan Hsien, but during the year the son and his wife (their baby daughter had died) returned and lived for a time with his older brother in House 17. They then moved back into House 16. Later
•164 another brother came to live with the brother in House 17 bringing his wife with him. The son of the young man in House 15 had died of dysentery during the summer and the second son died of the same disease during the

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Misc AE5

164 summer I was there. The young man later took a second wife. The old ladies in Houses 1 and 12 both died of old age, the old man in House 15 of heart disease, and a man of fifty-odd in House 31 of injuries due to the kick of a cow. A baby boy in House 8 died of malnutrition. At least thirteen children were born during this period, including two that died. The daughter of the widow in House 8 went to live permanently with her husband.

[13c]

4:Mickey E-8 (1960-?)1967 AES Misc AES

312 dling up rice plants and carrying them to the fields, but no men setting out plants.

241 I once tried my hand at helping and did
243 fairly well at the bundling of rice plants — at least as well as the twelve year old girl — but they feared I would be too slow and clumsy at the transplanting. It was a nice little trick to gather up the plants in the right hand and feed them into the left, then swish them around in the water to get all the mud off the roots. Usually two handfuls were so prepared and laid down in the water while another was gathered. Then they were all put together, washed again, and tied with a length of straw, of which the worker had a bundle stuck into the back of her belt or laid on the stand of plants before her. The mud was more than knee deep and I found myself clumsy in moving around and getting one leg after the other out of the mud without losing my balance. The setting out of the plants required the ability to move backward in a lively fashion. That night they inquired solicitously after my waistline, fore and aft, but all I could report was a very bad sunburn just above the water line. Also I had got rather wet, for their sailor pants, rolled well up the thigh, were much better suited to that sort of thing than my knickers. I found that they [164] were all having dysentery, and I got a touch of it, too.

374 Foresight in gathering big bundles of faggots justified itself during this period, for no one had time to go to the mountains for fuel. They used at least one big bundle a day in our family for the fires under the big cooking bowl in the kitchen and under the little ones in the house, over which they cooked vegetables.

241 By the end of the first week of the fifth
243 month (end of June) the transplanting of rice
312 was complete. Then there was a season of cultivation, until the plants were large enough to shade the space between them. Women, and now and then a man, worked in family groups in each paddy, pulling out the weeds and tossing them on the dikes or treading them down into the mud. At the same time they had to cultivate vegetable gardens and the fields in which beans, corn, tobacco, chillies, and millet had been sown to take the place of wheat and other crops. Here they

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

764 a special meal, with fresh bean curd as the chief dish. The wife of the second nephew in our family was in charge of preparation of this meal. The old man of our family attended both meals. I believe the woman who died was a near relative of his first wife. All that day first one priest and then another chanted, with or without drum accompaniment, casting the bamboo pieces each time. Chanters and drummer all wore the yellow robe, and the chanters a fancy head scarf. One of the chanters dripped liquor from a boiled green vegetable, one bits of green vegetable on a heap of cooked rice on a paddle on a chopping board, one bits of chicken giblets on this. The paddle was set on the shelf below the inscription to the house god. I was told that this was an offering to the Earth God, or perhaps to the spirits which stay near the earth. They believed, as do the Chinese, in two spirits for each person, the *hun* which they directed to follow the chicken to heaven, and the *kuei*, which stayed on or beneath the earth. All that day, also, a group of men gambled with Chinese dominoes around a table in the court outside the house.

164 **Illness and the Most Prevalent Diseases.** The most prevalent diseases were those of the skin — boils, eczema, ringworm, infection from scratched insect bites; intestinal disease due to parasites; conjunctivitis and trachoma; malaria; colds and coughs. In the summer there was a great deal of dysentery. Many had pyorrhea and bad teeth. Several times I saw a woman of the village pull another woman's tooth, which came out very easily.

757 I also saw them wash their eyes with an infusion of leaves, after which another woman picked at the eyelids with a needle. They had some herb remedies for such troubles as dysentery and made a black salve for sores and burns.

757 I took with me the specifics for the troubles
123 mentioned and these, which a doctor at the Red Cross headquarters in Kweiyang considered it safe for a novice to prescribe for, were the only ailments I would consent to treat. I had many calls for these medicines. Always when I went about the village I found it wise to carry them with me; if not, I invariably had to go back for some one of them. However, they did not wholly trust them.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

755 Always when the trouble was internal they called in the shamaness to go through her ritual and discover the cause of the trouble and the method to use to combat it. Of course they consulted her for other troubles, too, and on rare occasions asked a priest to perform a similar ritual.

757 One day I discovered that the young man in House 31 had a bad foot. I made him put
123 it in hot water and put on salve. During the day a big carbuncle under his big toe came to a head, broke, and began to exude pus nicely. I left him with a rag around it, and he later went to sleep. They gave me a good breakfast with turnips in the soup.

At the funeral of the oldest inhabitant I found myself holding a sort of clinic after each feast — treatment for sore eyes, various kinds of sores and boils, and a teething baby whose stomach was upset. I had a great many calls in the village for eye drops to help sore eyes and trachoma, by even an old lady who was going blind. I had almost as many calls for salves to put on skin troubles, which were a great affliction to them. It was not safe to prescribe for more serious complaints lest they blame me when the patient died. However, the use of simple remedies was an excellent way to make friends, as I learned when I gave the poor little baby of one of the priests cod liver oil and the child began to pick up. Even tiny babies had big boils on the shoulder or foot.

164 Each summer while I was in the *hsien* there were epidemics of dysentery in the *hsien* city, brought by travelers — refugees and soldiers, chiefly — and this was then carried to the villages. One summer the whole family in which I was staying had the complaint. The second son of the old man's son died of it. The previous summer the first son and a girl baby in a nearby household had died of it, also. It once developed into meningitis and death resulted in a day or two. The only other cause of death among children which I knew of personally was malnutrition. In that case the mother of a baby who had just died, and whose breasts were painfully full, promised me to feed the other child, but never did so.

165 Four other deaths in the village during the period were all of old or elderly men and

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

755 The Ch'uan Miao have no so-called doctors but there are some people who are supposed to know more about healing than others. They use mutton, pork, fish, the flesh of hawks or dogs, grasses, roots, bones of leopards, tigers and bears, and fossil bones and teeth. Neolithic stone axes, when found, are ground to powder and used as medicine. Fish is used to heal many diseases, pork to heal colds, dog meat to heal rheumatism, mutton to heal stomach trouble, and there is a kind of grass that is supposed to heal broken bones. This grass is wrapped around the broken limb which is bound up tightly until the bone has grown together. A few of these medicines have healing power, but others are positively harmful.

753 All diseases are supposed to be caused by demons. These
755 creatures are the unhappy souls of human beings, animals and some inanimate things such as mountains and stones. The soul of a human being may become a demon if there are no descendants to provide for its needs or if the descendants are unfilial, do not show due reverence, and do not provide through offerings the necessary food, money, clothing, etc. Naturally the way to heal a disease is to get rid of the demon that is causing it and this is the work of the *tuan kung*. He knows how to find out what demon is causing the trouble and by means of charms, ceremonies and incantations he exorcises the demon and heals the disease. Of course he is paid for his services.

164 With such meager and inadequate provision for the healing
165 of the sick it is not at all strange that the death-rate among the Ch'uan Miao is very high. A Ch'uan Miao friend told me that eleven children had been born to him and that only two were still living, both of whom were less than ten years old.[13] He said that he believed that many deaths were caused by the use of the wrong medicines. It is evident that if the birth-rate were not correspondingly high the Ch'uan Miao would gradually disappear. Malaria, typhoid, and tuberculosis probably cause more deaths than other diseases.

762 A great many Ch'uan Miao women commit suicide, and it seems almost fashionable for them to take their own lives. The reasons are: first, that the husband and the husband's parents mistreat the wife; second, that her husband is unfaithful; and third, that she is grieved because of the death of her children.

763 When a person dies, people are afraid as long as the corpse is in the house, because they believe that the soul of the dead person may do harm to the living.

13. Since this was written, one of these two children and the father have died.

[7 cont.]

844 4) Childbirth. The Miao-I people are physically very sturdy: their ability to procreate and their capacity for farm work are both great. The women too have to attend to house chores, being especially strong and fit, they regard childbirth as a common occurrence. When a married woman is pregnant [843] she has to be confined in her husband's house. At the time of childbirth she is attended by her mother-in-law or sister-in-law or sometimes she is just by herself. The umbilical cord is broken by means of a piece of stone, and the sac is placed in an earthen jar and buried underground or hung up high in the room. The baby is then washed with cold water. The mother 846 remains at home for a week, after which she goes up the hill to gather firewood or down the field to cultivate the land without further inhibition or recuperation. They are afraid to have 847 too many children and often get rid of them by drowning or simply killing them. It is said that when children are numerous there will be disputes over inheritance and litigations. [8] Moreover, if the parents have no property, the acquisition of many children means so much hard work to bring them up. So whether there is money or not in the family, to have children means added suffering and privation to the parents, who are therefore reluctant to have too many. Because of the prevalence [165] of infanticide the rate of childbirth is decreasing. This and the high mortality rate combine to endanger the growth of their population.

● 164 5) Disease. Due to the difficulties of livelihood the Miao-I cannot afford the facilities of health and sanitation. Their hardihood enables them to survive the cold seasons of winter and spring when little disease prevails. But summer and autumn are the seasons of ill health. In case of sickness there are no medical facilities in the Miao-I areas, and the patient is left to the mercy of nature or magic. Sometimes a mi-la [diviner] 755 or a kuei-shih [shaman priest] is asked to propitiate the ghost. Mi-la is also known as "mi-p'o," and kuei-shih as "tuan-kung." The patient's family first asks the diviner to ascertain the kind of evil spirit that is causing the trouble and the kind of animal most appropriate for sacrifice. Then the wizard priest is asked

[26 cont.]

000 time [about April 5th] would be quite enough.

766 Hê Miao who die of leprosy are cremated. The dead body
● 164 is carried to a vacant lot to be placed on a pile of firewood and
757 burned before the public. It is probably for the same purpose of avoiding contagion that the Hê Miao at Yung-chiang who die of small pox are cremated -- a sanitary idea derived from experiences.

5. Religious Beliefs

774 The Short-skirt Hê Miao apparently believe in animism.
776 In their view every object in nature is invested with a spirit. The sky, earth, sun and moon are all nature spirits, but even rocks, rivers, bridges, trees and wells are also endowed with spiritual powers. The duties and responsibilities of these spirits, however, are not quite divided, and therefore in case of sickness, engagement and the acquisition of sons they would go to one of these objects to offer prayers, and if their prayers are fulfilled they would have to offer sacrifices. There are two kinds of spirits: the good spirits, efficacious and powerful, who guard over the welfare of the mortals, but in case of offences against them, can also inflict severe punishments; the bad spirits or ghosts, who are bent on doing harm and whom one has to suppress if one cannot put up with them. The first category of spirits includes the Jade Emperor, the Guarding Buddha, one's ancestors, the King of Hades, the Earth God, the God of Wealth, the Bodhisattva of Mercy, Yo Fei [warrior hero of the 12th century], Shen-nung [Divine Husbandman, a mythical emperor of pre-historical times], Kwan-ti [warrior hero of the 3rd century, sometimes called the God of War], tree spirits, cliff spirits, bridge spirits, the Sun God, the Moon Goddess, the winnowing-fan spirits, and the Lady Buddhas. The second category includes the spirits of thunder and lightning, the tiger ghost, the well ghost, the drowning ghost, the mouth odor ghost, the sly ghost who hurts people surreptitiously, the pu-nung (Miao dialect) ghost, the nai-huang (Miao dialect) ghost, the leg-pulling ghost, the breath-obstructing ghost, the soul-bewitching

[150 cont.]

101 White Meo ("Peu-Méo")
Black Meo ("Heu-Méo")
Red Meo ("Hong-Méo")
Meo of the flowers ("Hoa-Méo")
"Méo-moung-cha"

[151] These various tribes have characters, mores, and dialects only very slightly different. They are melting little by little [184] into one another and scarcely differ except in the details of feminine costume. Hence, we shall not study them separately, as we have done for the tribes of the preceding groups, and we shall restrict ourselves to pointing out in passing the peculiarities of each of them.

The "Méo" men are generally of medium or small stature, 142 robust, hardy, with strong legs, developed by the long climbs in the [147] mountains and the carrying of heavy burdens. Some "Méo" are of large stature, but these are not the toughest. The women are smaller than the men. Very sweet and graceful during their youth, they soon become very clumsy and heavy. Their breasts are extremely well [163] developed but deformed by their numerous progeny. The birth rate [165] is very high; the infant mortality, likewise.

The "Méo" have very coarse, very black hair. It is not rare [143] to find among them individuals who are blond or even albino, however.

273 The "Méo," very sober in normal times, seizes every opportunity to become drunk and to make good cheer. He often contracts [164] pulmonary diseases due to his heedlessness and to the bad conditions under which he lives.

147 It is impossible to acclimate him to low altitudes, where he immediately falls sick and rapidly becomes dispirited.

The "Méo" who have established irrigated rice fields have 24/ carried out this work along high mountain valleys. Yet they do not 36/ live near these planted areas, in spite of the relatively high altitude of the latter. As soon as the daily work is finished, they climb up again to their villages, which always remain located near the summits (see photo 428, Plate 43).

157 The "Méo" is of a gay disposition, very independent, courage- 609 ous, and extremely candid. Very hospitable, he always welcomes

[158 cont.]

361 "Méo" villages, the hygienic conditions in them are questionable
364 enough, especially during the winter when the temperature frequently drops [159] below freezing. The "Méo" spend the days and the nights of winter squatting or sleeping about the kitchen hearth and neglect to put any extra clothing on when they go outdoors. It is
164 clear that under these conditions the pulmonary maladies which have already been spoken of are extremely frequent and that they cause real havoc among the old people and the young children.

Smallpox frequently rages among the "Méo," but like all primitive people who are not poisoned by the abuse of medicines
[147] for generations, they react marvelously to the simplest remedies. In 1911, a serious epidemic of smallpox ravaged a very large vil-
[751] lage in the region of Pha-Long, causing five or six deaths daily. All the inhabitants were vaccinated the same day, old and young, healthy persons or those already attacked. From that moment, no further deaths occurred.

Maize is the basic food of the "Méo." It is boiled, steamed,
262 [252] or parched, or reduced to meal in order to be eaten in the form of cakes. The "Méo" also cultivate mountain rice, but like the
243 "Man," they are coming more and more to cultivate permanent irrigated rice fields, the working of which is easier and more remunerative. To this end they have taken over as much as possible of the favorable terrain, valley bottoms or sides of hillocks on which water may be brought by a simple canalization, and have laid out these areas into terraced rice fields where they often successively
[249] cultivate rice and opium. (See photos 135 and 428, Plate 43, showing the rice fields after the harvest, and photo 184, Plate 41, which shows a large rice field used for the cultivation of opium, the latter photo taken March 31, 1912.)

Aside from maize and rice, the "Méo" eat buckwheat and many
262 [252] vegetables, which they cook in water with a little salt: potatoes, string beans, peas, beans, cucumbers, turnips, eggplants, pumpkins, and so on. The use of meat (fowl, game, domestic animals) is reserved for ceremonies and banquets, which the "Méo" never miss a chance for. They never eat horseflesh.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

1291 intel

A M 829

'In the plains there are too many wars, duties, soldiers, and mandarins!'

'If we were to settle down among the people on the plains, they would steal our herds.'

'We do not want to descend into the plains because there we could not cultivate opium and maize or plant fruit trees.'

'The soil of the mountains belongs to the Meau; the soil of the plains does not belong to them'"

Savina states that only one answered: "Because the other tribes do not want us to live in the plains with them." Savina is of the opinion that this is actually the true reason. There can be no doubt, however, that he is mistaken about this.

A M 164 361

In my opinion, the reason lies much deeper. It lies outside the realm of human volition and is based upon the constitutional nature of the mountain tribes. In contrast to the valley peoples, such as the Thai tribes, the Chinese, or the Annamese, the Meau and Akha, and presumably the majority of the tribes occupying this area today and known as "mountain tribes," are not capable of becoming acclimatized to the tropics, as is true, for example, of all the members of the white races. These tribes show an amazingly low resistance in particular to the tropical diseases, above all to malaria. In this connection Abadie's further statement is of special interest: "The Meau came to Tonkin long after the 'Thai' and 'Man.' With the latter they had many local battles over the arable land, which sometimes were long and fierce. Stronger and more energetic than their opponents, they would perhaps have driven them out of Upper-Tonking altogether had they been able to acclimatize themselves to the lower altitudes." In the chapter "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand," section on "The Territories of the Mountain Peoples," I shall discuss at some length the extraordinary importance that this lack of ability to acclimatize has for colonial-ethnological affairs.

A M [174]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/51 cont./

A M 842 The birth of boys is much preferred to that of girls by the men of both peoples, because boys strengthen their own family community, whereas girls strengthen a foreign one. Meau mothers wish for an equal number of sons and daughters. A M 858 Nevertheless, the preference for boys does not go as far as some authors assume. Contrary to their views, I often had the opportunity to observe that both parents were touchingly affectionate toward children of both sexes, and sick girls were treated just as well as sick sons. One of my Meau informants, M [164] [123] for instance, had an eighteen-year-old daughter who had an especially sensitive skin which reacted to the prevalent scabies with a form of dermatitis. Her father repeatedly came to me, asked me to cure his daughter, and promised to give me anything I wanted.

b) Naming and Admission into the Family Community

M 851 The solemn admission into the family community takes place among the Meau on the third day after the birth, not counting that day. Dhuraratsadorn (1) reports in this connection

1. Page 173.

that three to /52/ seven days after the birth a sacrificial festival is held for the spirits of the clouds. Presumably he is referring to the ceremony which I shall describe below on the basis of my own observations and experiences. Savina (1) describes the

1. II, p. 225.

ceremony somewhat differently: "Do not ask what the baby is called. It does not yet have a name. For the moment it is called 'the one who cries.' In the case of some tribes the nearest relatives come on the third day to greet the child and to give it a chicken and a cap. Coins, the teeth and claws of animals, and the like are often hung on these caps. The chickens

/157 cont./

771 114 Under these circumstances I deemed it especially important to investigate the religious element of the Meau with the utmost care. I shall deal with the activities of the Christian missions in a special section of the chapter on "Cultural Change and Colonial-Ethnological Problems among the Mountain Peoples in Thailand." Before dealing with the native religious elements of the Meau, I must point out that at first it was difficult to penetrate into the spiritual culture of the Meau. The Meau, to be sure, do not hesitate to perform their incantations and sacrifices in the presence of strangers, but they do maintain secrecy about certain things, especially concerning religion, before persons who do not belong to the community. Chance and some knowledge of medicine helped me probe more deeply into features of the sacral life of the Meau.

123 [753] [774] Lü, the third son of the chief Tsin Tsai, became sick. His father took heart and came to me, bemoaning the fate of his son. According to Meau opinion, his soul had gone wandering and was prevented from returning by evil spirits. The efforts of the shamans had been in vain. I was easily able to determine that the sick Lü had tropical malaria, a fatal sickness for the Meau. [164] I told the chief that many little evil spirits had entered his son's body and were sucking out the red blood. Under /158/ these circumstances it was not surprising that the soul did not dare to return to the body. He should once more ask the shaman to try his incantations, and I, too, would call on my spirits, firmly convinced that our combined efforts would be crowned with success. -- The shaman came and declared himself willing to undertake the experiment. After the ceremony, which I describe in detail in the section, "Magic, Soothsaying, and Interpretation of Omens" in this chapter, I treated the patient for malaria, which cured him of his affliction. Through this I won the sincere gratitude of the chief, and since I had declared that the shaman's assistance was absolutely necessary for the patient's recovery, he, too, was well disposed toward me. Hence everybody supported me in every conceivable way in my investigations, and I was able to penetrate more and more deeply into the spiritual culture of the Meau.

/212 cont./

784 One of the taboos of the Meau is that it is inadvisable to
262 set foot in places inhabited by spirits. It is expressly forbidden
[776] to eat the meat of the large black squirrel. Anyone who violates this taboo will die immediately, according to the belief of the Meau. Lajonquière (1) speaks of a prohibition against eating horse

1. II, p. 303.

[231] meat. There is no such taboo among the Meau in Thailand. To
[782] be sure, the Meau investigated by me did not raise any horses at all. In answer to my question, however, I was told that as a rule horses are not used as sacrificial animals and are eaten only in exceptional cases, because horses are too rare and therefore too valuable to be slaughtered.

272 Furthermore, among the taboos there is the prohibition
784 against ever drinking the milk of any animal. I was shown how
825 strictly every taboo is generally observed by an incident that I
123 experienced, because in the course of time I had made such a name for myself among the Meau as a doctor that people came to me from afar in order to have me treat them or give them medicine. Among those who came to me seeking to be cured, there was a Meau mother who did not have enough milk for her baby. The child, about two months old, was already starved, and /213/ all the Meau, including the mother, were aware of this. In spite of many proofs of their confidence in me and in spite of the almost incredible love of the Meau for their children, I did not succeed in persuading the Meau to permit me to give the baby cow's milk. Even the child's mother could not be persuaded, although there was a milk cow available and I made it quite clear that the baby was otherwise doomed to certain death. The child did soon die of undernourishment.

123 On another occasion I found the wife of a chief among my
262 patients. She asked me to examine her and was convinced that
[846] she suffered from an abdominal ailment, for, as she told me,
[164] full of remorse, she had violated the taboo that women in childbed are forbidden to eat meat for one month after the
[626] birth of the child. She now believed that the spirits were punishing her for the transgression. An examination of this sick

/213 cont./

123 262 [164] woman showed that she was suffering from hookworms, which could easily be cured.

I have already mentioned the taboo which comes into effect, in case of a death in a village, for the village community as well as for the mourners and especially for the family whose member has died. Food prohibitions are not tied in with death, but after the death of a woman, the children and the widower have to refrain from sexual intercourse for one year whereas after the death of the husband, widows are subject to this commandment for only one week.

784 765 [262] [834]

834 846 Marabail (1) reports of the Meau in Tonkin that after the

1. Page 451.

birth of a child the parents may not have sexual intercourse with each other.

835 The incest taboo is observed very strictly among the Meau in Thailand. It is forbidden for young blood-relatives of the opposite sex to stand together or to look or smile at each other. Since, as I stated earlier, any Meau man to whom a girl offers a glass of alcohol views this, according to custom, as an invitation, it is strictly forbidden for girls /214/ to serve alcohol or even to drink to men against whom the marriage prohibition applies for them.

[273] [832]

533 461 784 [626] In the fields of the so musically inclined Meau, one does not hear singing during the work or during rests, because this would violate a taboo. It is believed to be certain that non-observance would bring a misfortune, that one of the workers would be hurt, either by a tool or by part of a falling tree.

784 [177] Just as the Meau in their cult practices do not in general want to borrow anything from the pertinent customs of the other peoples living around them, so are the many prohibitions of the Chinese unknown to them or ignored. On the other hand great significance is attached to every native taboo. Every taboo is in force for the entire life of the individual as well as for the whole tribe; the only exceptions are taboos that are limited in time, which are automatically lifted after the

[756]

39: Bernatzik--310 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/229/

Chapter 11

Medicine

515 [364] Hygienic conditions in the Meau villages are very unsatisfactory. The children in particular are literally encrusted with dirt. Even the adults seldom wash themselves. To do so they take some water in the hollow of the hand and put a little over the face or wipe the face with a damp piece of clothing. Since, however, articles of clothing, too, are rarely washed, this procedure is quite ineffective.

Cleaning the body or clothing with anything but water is [296] unknown; neither sand nor fat, oil, smoke, or fire is used. Marabail (1), too, states that the Meau are dirty and that their

1. Pages 463 and 451.

clothing stinks, because they never wash. He accounts for this by [312] saying that water is scarce, but this certainly is not true for Farther India!

People are sometimes covered with crusts of dirt into which perspiration cuts light streaks. Flies and other insects 314 hatch out their eggs in the rubbish heaps. The relatively good • 164 health of the people stands in peculiar contrast to this. Child [165] mortality is very high, but it is offset by the high fertility. Anyone who in childhood was able to survive the many epidemics and sicknesses that befall the little ones shows considerable resistance to sickness as an adult.

364 The houses of the Meau are swept, to be sure, but the [356] refuse is thrown beside the dwelling. Pigs and dogs search for [514] their food in the rubbish heaps. /230/ There are no toilets (see [231] the chapter, "Settlement and House Construction"). The feces of the animals defile the dwellings and village squares and, during the dry season, often form a whole layer which is washed away only by the downpours of the rainy season. Since the Meau [361] villages are built on slopes, the violent showers take care of this needed cleaning very thoroughly. After tropical thunderstorms masses of water stream between the houses, which are protected by ditches, and wash away all the refuse.

/230 cont./

364 Most authors who had an opportunity to visit the Meau in their villages stress this lack of hygiene. Lajonquière (1), for instance,

1. II, 306.

also describes the condition of the area between the dwellings and the stables: "The ground has become bottomless from the treading of the domestic animals. Filth accumulates and mixes with the earth, sometimes to a depth of 80 centimeters or a meter. In order to enter the house of the Meau chief in the region of Pakha... one of the wealthiest in the area, one had to cross a sea of filth seven to eight meters wide completely surrounding it. There were not only feces of the animals, but waste water from the kitchen and refuse of all kinds were thrown even directly in front of the door. The tree trunks in the midst of it did not permit one to cross this seat of infection without danger of slipping." The same author (2) also emphasizes the

[264]

2. Page 304.

nauseating dirt which clings to all the eating utensils and kitchen implements. Abadie (3) in similar words confirms the conditions

3. Page 157.

in the villages described by Lajonquière.

Savina (4), too, discusses these conditions: "All their lives

4. II, p. 205.

[609] they drink fresh water and breathe clean air. Whenever a
[356] stranger comes, the house is swept clean. All the children go
[291] naked. When they become ill, they are smeared with mud. The
[757] lack of hygiene takes its toll in many sicknesses: rheumatism,
[164] bronchitis, fever, abcesses, mange, and herpes."

/230 cont./

A 515 Conditions among the Akha are somewhat more favorable, but likewise leave much to be desired. The personal cleanliness of the Akha, however, is unconditionally greater than that of the Meau. The people wash themselves regularly as soon as they A [356] are grown up; children are washed daily. The houses are always [296] swept clean, and the Akha seem to wash their clothing /231/ [364] more often than the Meau do. Otherwise what was found among the Meau applies. To be sure, hygienic conditions are somewhat 165 better, but they are still so deficient that a high mortality among [163] the children as a result of epidemics and sicknesses is unavoidable. Among the Akha, too, however, this mortality rate is offset by great fertility, so that the Akha, too, will certainly not be subject to a population decline.

A M 164 Prophylactic measures against illness are completely unknown to both the Meau and Akha, as is the nature of infectious diseases. 165 Although I did not succeed in determining precisely the losses [751] caused by epidemics, the consequences of such pestilences were [753] easily ascertained. Merely the presence of sibless Meau, who had placed themselves as unfree under the protection of powerful large /extended/ families, showed this, as did the many widows, widowers, childless parents, and orphans. Whenever I inquired M 761 about the causes of death, it was said: "Died because of the 164 vengeance of evil spirits." It often turned out, however, that 731 these evil spirits had killed dozens of people at the same time. I learned that once the Meau built a village in a country at an altitude lower than is customary and infested with malaria. When subsequently a malaria epidemic broke out they believed that they had chosen as a dwelling site a place haunted by evil spirits and they moved their village.

A 164 731 I could not find any moving of a village because of the outbreak of an epidemic among the Akha. Southwest of the Doy Tung there was an Akha village whose inhabitants had almost all fallen victim to an epidemic; from the description it was probably cholera. The survivors, however, had not moved the village.

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/231 cont./

A M 164 114 According to the symptoms that became known to me, other epidemics can seemingly be traced back to diarrhea, typhoid fever, and dysentery.

Unfortunately, nothing has as yet been published on the susceptibility or resistance of the mountain peoples to the various diseases. To be sure, the Census of Burma (1), for example, gave

1. Vol. XI, Part I, p. 112.

some statistics on the various diseases, but most of the mountain peoples were undoubtedly able to avoid inclusion in the statistics /232/ -- at least a substantial part of them is in practice not included at all (see the chapter, "Statistical and Demographic Data and Differences between the Various Meau and Akha Tribes"). Furthermore, the Census of Burma confounds the natives of various races and cultures. I need only point out the example of the relatively strong resistance of the Schan /Shan/ peoples to malaria, or the catastrophic susceptibility of the mountain peoples, especially the Meau and Akha, to this disease, in order to show how useless the statistics of the Census are for this purpose.

A M 164 753 A 443 753 Both peoples are well aware of the fact that they contract malaria in the lowlands, even though the belief in spirits is drawn upon for an explanation, as is shown by the example of the Meau village that was moved because of malaria. Even the Akha who travel to Kengtung on market days in order to sell their wares never spend the night in the city, but on the heights of the surrounding mountains. Even if they have sold only part of their wares and a longer stay in the city would facilitate their business, they prefer to return to the city on the following day and to take the wearisome trip back and forth in the bargain. They explain this custom by saying that in Kengtung there are evil spirits who would send them fatal sicknesses during the night.

A M 164 Among the endemic illnesses occurring in the two mountain peoples there are plague, bubonic plague, typhoid fever, amoebic dysentery, bacillary dysentery, and various forms of worms, especially hookworm and trichinosis. One often sees

AKha A04
Miao AE5 ●

/232 cont./

A M ● 164 pock-marked Meau. Abadie (1), too, noted the frequent occurrence

1. Page 159.

of smallpox:

M 164 731 744 "The Meau are frequently afflicted with smallpox, but they react wonderfully to the simplest medicines. In 1911, a severe epidemic raged in a very large village in the Tha-Long region and caused five to six deaths a day. All the inhabitants were inoculated on one day, the aged and the children, the healthy and the sick. From this moment on there was not another death." Such results are of course, highly gratifying, but it is /233/ somewhat disconcerting to see inoculation counted among the "simplest medicines"!

A M 164 732 As among most of the mountain peoples of Farther India, struma is common among the Meau and Akha, which Marabail (1)

1. Page 463.

confirms for the Meau, and likewise cretinism. These ailments are more frequent among the Meau than among the Akha. Moreover, in both tribes the women are more frequently and more severely ill than the men. Some of the cretins found in every M 164 732 [753] Meau village do not seem to have been afflicted by true cretinism, but by epidemic meningitis and similar diseases. At any rate, the Meau told me on several occasions that these persons had been quite normal as children, but had suddenly been stricken with fever and were then tortured terribly by evil spirits. Since that time their minds were affected.

A M 164 [158] Mental diseases and paralysis caused by nervous or rheumatic disorders are relatively frequent. I was unable to find syphilis; to be sure, it may have been spread among the Meau in some places by Chinese traders, but it has caused no obvious devastation. Gonorrhea occurs more frequently, but still rarely among the Meau, and it seems to be completely absent among the Akha, which can probably be traced back to the strict tribal endogamy among this people. I could find no

/233 cont./

A M 164 cases. Frambesia occurs occasionally, cholera more frequently. The last epidemic known to me occurred among the Akha in 1933 and brought severe losses with it.

Furthermore all kinds of cold-sicknesses are common, including pneumonia; on the other hand, I could not find any tuberculosis. Lajonquière (2) also reports on the causes of these

2. II, p. 306.

cold-ailments, and Abadie (3) confirms his data:

3. Page 159.

"When the wind blows and on winter evenings sweeps in icy gusts through the poorly closed walls, when the damp air cools A M [513] off to about zero, the whole family presses around the hearth, in which a few pieces of wood glow. All night long they sleep in the ashes, one leaning against the other. This is the time when the aged and the very little ones catch their bad coughs, which follow them to their graves."

/234/ In keeping with the greater dirtiness of the Meau, head lice and body lice are considerably more numerous among them than among the Akha. The Meau also suffer from severe forms of scabies in connection with dermatitis. Caries are likewise common only among the Meau, as is pyorrhea, which I could not find among the Akha.

A M 753 776 M 755 [756] [769] As I have already pointed out in the chapter, "Religion," the section on "Magic, Soothsaying, Interpretation of Omens," some of the illnesses befalling them are traced back by the Akha as well as the Meau to the work of evil spirits. In such cases, the Meau turn first to the ancestors for help, and, if they cannot help, to the bisexual high Father-Mother spirit. Then one attempts to drive out the evil spirits with the help of the shaman, who often actually is skilled in medicine, even in our sense. The course of requesting the help of the ancestors and spirits is chosen only in case of sicknesses for which no remedies are known to the Meau, against which they are helpless, and which they regard as dangerous and incurable on the

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/234 cont./

M 755 [164] basis of their fine gift of observation, experience, and diagnostic talents. This attempted cure through conjuration is thus employed especially in the case of an outbreak of epidemics, such as the plague, and for malaria, amoebic dysentery, cretinism, mental diseases, and so forth. Such observations undoubtedly prompted Savina (1) to make the following remarks:

1. II, p. 259.

M [753] "The Meau regard all sicknesses as punishment from heaven or as an act of revenge on the part of evil spirits. In the first case, the shamans recite prayers in front of an altar. In the second case, they drive the spirits out of the patient and swing swords in doing so. Also, coins in the shape of a cross are sewed on the patient's clothes (on the back). Human figures made of cloth are sewed on the back or the stomach. Paper dolls are pasted on the walls and above the altar."

M 757 [759] [787] Aside from the shamans, some of whom are not unskilled in medicine, there are men among the Meau who fight illness with the help of their medicines. They sometimes also prescribe remedies, according to the results of questioning the oracle about it, but in such cases they let the spirits /235/ make the choice between such medicines which, according to their view, might be useful in the particular case of illness.

M [114] [177] Under these circumstances, the assertion by Dhuraratsadorn (1),

1.Page 172.

who advocates the view that the Meau usually use the medicaments of the Haw (Western Chinese) since they themselves have no knowledge of medicine, is undoubtedly inaccurate.

A 753 782 776 This is much more the case among the Akha, who are much more helpless against sickness than the Meau are. The Akha believe that all sickness is the work of evil spirits and try to protect themselves by means of offerings which are supposed to propitiate the spirits.

/265 cont./
592 is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau;
621 family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased
551 father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau
village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her chil-
164 dren died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them
734 died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an
epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely
paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

513 House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

342 House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bam-
513 boo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the
551 ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the personal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest son and an infant are living.

622 House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan,
551 Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years
587 ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second, present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he
595 has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons with wives also live in the house.

House 7; See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the
551 house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name, Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that
756 is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The housewife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another,
731 of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled
164 to relatives in Nam Fa.

/266 cont./

592 House 8: The father of the house: personal name, Yin;
621 family name, Sen Sun. He is not related to the other villagers
[551] and allegedly moved here only because good fields could be
laid out here. He looks cretinous, and this is said to have hap-
[164] pened after an attack of fever (meningitis?), but he is a good
[732] worker, and with his daughter of about 20 he lives in peace with
the other inhabitants of Nam Fa. /Ills. 52-57 appear here on
unnumbered pages./

34 /267/ Among the Meau in Thailand, we were able to distinguish five house-types:

1. Dwelling houses,
2. Granary housing,
3. Stables,
4. Smithies,
5. Rice-field huts.

There are no houses for special purposes, such as cook-houses, guardhouses, inns, spirit houses, or such for cult associations. Except for the smithies, there is no artisan's housing.

1. Dwelling Houses

342 The main entrance of the houses have to lie, not in a definite direction, but on the valley side, in order to prevent the water rushing down the slope from entering the house. On
351 the mountain side of each house there is a drainage ditch which guides the masses of water from the tropical storms past the house and into a gutter, in which it then, as in a brook, plunges into the valley. /Figs. 59-62 appear here./

342 When one steps into a Meau dwelling, he at first gets a
[353] very cheerless impression because of the darkness prevailing in it and the smoke-blackening which covers all the walls and furnishings. Also, corresponding with the previously described seminomadism of the mountain peoples, not too much effort and care are used in the construction of the houses. Boards,
[322] beams, supporting posts, partitioning walls, and all parts of the
[335] roof are merely roughly hewn with the ax and show marked
irregularities. As binding materials, rattan and bamboo are
[824] used exclusively; sawing, nailing, or glueing is unknown. On
the other hand, posts and beams are joined in various ways (Figs.
[353] 59-62). With a longer stay, however, and more precise

[Text continues on p. 369]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/441 cont./

A M 145 ●164 The teeth among both peoples are strong and well developed and well preserved into old age, if caries and pyorrhea (see the chapter, "Medicine"), especially common among the Meau, do not cause them to fall out prematurely.

A M 142 Both tribes also have well-developed ears; the shell shows no signs of degeneration or atavism, although attached lobes and their absence can be found more commonly among the Meau, rarely among the Akha.

M 142 The eye of the Meau is small with a narrow eyelid slit, which is often placed obliquely. Apart from the Mongoloid fold (Ills. 53)[1] which is very common among these people, the lateral corner of the eye often lies higher than the medial one. Therefore little of the cornea is to be seen among the Meau. The eye color is dark brown.

A 142 The eye of the Akha is essentially different. It is large and /442/ almond-shaped (Ill. 6),[2] and the Mongoloid fold occurs only as an exception. The cornea is white and always quite visible; a higher placement of the lateral corner of the eye in comparison with the medial one is not rare. The color of the eyes is usually dark brown, sometimes even black.

M 142 As a rule (except for the Europoid types), the nose of the Meau is small, blunt, and quite deeply saddled; the bridge of the nose, protruding slightly only in exceptionsl cases, is otherwise broad and flat (Ill. 53). It becomes much wider at the bottom and at the sides toward the alae.

A 142 In contrast to this, the Akha usually have large noses with high bridges; even aquiline noses occur occasionally (Ill. 1). The bridge is narrow and slightly arched, usually very narrow at the root, but wider noses, especially toward the lower part, also occur (Ill. 6). They are never as flat, however, as those of the Meau. In isolated cases the bottom of the nose slopes upward somewhat toward the tip so that from the front one can see into the nostrils.

[1] [see cat. 116, p366 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " p14 - "]